

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAM-01

OMB-01 SAI-01 AGR-05 EB-07 SIL-01 LAB-04 TRSE-00 AF-06

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FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3368

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 3875

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: AFM ASSEMBLY SELECTS PLAN FOR DIRECT LINKS WITH PEOPLE

REF: A. FBIS 091105Z JUL 75; B. LISBON 3845; C. LISBON 3847

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING TYPICAL ALL NIGHT SESSION, AFM ASSEMBLY
JULY 9 ISSUED COMMUNIQUE AND LONG-AWAITED PLAN FOR LINKS WITH
PEOPLE. AFM OPTED FOR NEITHER FAR-LEFT SUPPORTED CRT'S NOR
COMMUNIST-BACKED CDR'S. INSTEAD, AFM APPEARS TO HAVE SELECTED
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE IT CAN CONTROL. STRUCTURE IS BUILT UPON
NEIGHBORHOOD COMMITTEES AND WORKERS COMMISSIONS AT LOCAL LEVEL,
AND CONTEMPLATES SERIES OF "POPULAR ASSEMBLIES" FROM LOCAL
TO NATIONAL LEVEL. IF IMPLEMENTED STRUCTURE IS BLUEPRINT FOR
BYPASSING POLITICAL PARTIES IN FAVOR OF UNITARY ORGANIZATION AT
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EACH LEVEL. PLAN, BY DEFINING PARALLEL POLITICAL STRUCTURE,

EFFECTIVELY CUTS GROUND FROM UNDER WORK OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. DOCUMENT IS CLEARLY ANOTHER COMPROMISE EFFORT SUBJECT TO VARYING INTERPRETATIONS. COMMUNISTS HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED INTENSIFIED EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE AT LOCAL LEVEL. SOCIALIST AND OTHER MODERATE ELEMENTS WOULD BE WISE TO DO THE SAME. END SUMMARY

1. AFM ASSEMBLY ENDED AT 4:30 A.M. JULY 9 AND RELEASED COMMUNIQUE TOGETHER WITH LONG-AWAITED PLAN FOR DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN AFM AND PEOPLE. PRINCIPAL POINTS OF COMMUNIQUE INCLUDED:

- ENDORSEMENT OF JUNE 21 POLITICAL ACTION PLAN;
- APPROVAL IN PRINCIPLE OF DOCUMENT PRESENTED BY PRIME MINISTER VASCO GONCALVES ANALYZING CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION;
- APPROVAL IN GENERAL TERMS OF WORKING GROUP PLAN FOR DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN AFM AND PEOPLE.
- CHARGE TO REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL TO PROMULGATE, ON URGENT BASIS, REVOLUTIONARY LEGISLATION NECESSARY TO FORMALIZE STRUCTURES CONTAINED IN PLAN.

2. TASKS DEFINED: PLAN DEFINED PRINCIPAL TASKS AS (A) STRENGTHENING REVOLUTIONARY PARTICIPATION OF MASSES; (B) DEFENDING REVOLUTION FROM FORCES OF REACTION; AND (C) WINNING BATTLE OF PRODUCTION. TO ACCOMPLISH THESE TASKS FOLLOWING GOALS IDENTIFIED:

- CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EXTENSIVE STATE SECTOR;
- AGRARIAN REFORM CONTROLLED BY ORGANIZED RURAL WORKERS;
- RESTRUCTURING AND DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY;
- STIMULATION OF WORKER CONTROL OF MEANS OF PRODUCTION;
- AGREEMENT ON A GLOBAL ECONOMIC POLICY;
- DEVELOPMENT OF AN ECONOMIC POLICY FOR BASIC SECTORS.

3. INTERNATIONAL GOALS: GOALS IN INTERNATIONAL FIELD INCLUDED:

- GUARANTEE OF COMPLETION OF PROCESS OF DECOLONIZATION IN AFRICA;
 - AVOIDANCE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL, POLITICAL, OR ECONOMIC DOMINATION OF PORTUGUESE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.
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4. POLITICAL PARTIES: WITH REGARD TO POLITICAL PARTIES, DOCUMENT NOTED:

- AFM HAD NO INTENTION OF IGNORING THOSE PARTIES DEVOTED TO CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM, NOR DID IT INTEND TO "MILITARIZE" THE PEOPLE.
- "...PROCESS OF ORGANIZING MASSES WOULD CREATE CONDITIONS FOR PARTIES INTERESTED IN CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM TO FIND

FORMS OF COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING WHICH WOULD LEAD THEM TO JOIN FORCES FOR CORRECT CONSOLIDATION OF POLITICAL VANGUARD OF REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS."

5. PARALLEL STRUCTURES: DOCUMENT DESCRIBED GOVERNING SYSTEM INCLUDING THREE PARALLEL STRUCTURES: AFM, POPULAR, AND GOVERNMENTAL.

6. HIGHLIGHTS: ADDITIONAL HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDED:

- APPARATUS OF STATE MUST BE REFORMED AND GRADUALLY REPLACED, WITH FINANCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POWERS DECENTRALIZED AND PLACED UNDER LOCAL CONTROL.

- STRUCTURE WOULD BE BASED UPON SERIES OF POPULAR ASSEMBLIES AT LOCAL, MUNICIPAL, REGIONAL, AND FINALLY NATIONAL LEVEL. ASSEMBLIES WOULD HAVE "CONTROL" OVER "PUBLIC" ACTIVITIES IN WHICH THEY PARTICIPATED.

- BASIS FOR LOCAL ORGANIZATION WOULD BE NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS AND WORKERS COMMISSIONS. OTHER POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS WOULD ESTABLISH LINKS WITH THESE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS.

- FOLLOWING "CLARIFICATION AND INFORMATION SESSIONS" CONDUCTED BY AFM REPRESENTATIVES, LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS WOULD BE RECOGNIZED BY AFM.

- EACH STEP IN ORGANIZATIONAL PROCESS WOULD DEPEND UPON SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION OF PRECEDING STEP, WITH AFM CONTROLLING EACH STEP THROUGH PARTICIPATION BY AFM DELEGATES AS WELL AS MILITARY UNIT COMMANDERS AT LOCAL LEVEL AND REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS AT REGIONAL LEVEL.

- DECISIONS BY POPULAR ASSEMBLIES WOULD BE BY PUBLIC VOTE SHOW OF HANDS. DECISIONS REACHED WOULD BE BINDING ON GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURE.

- PROVISION ALSO MADE FOR "POPULAR TRIBUNALS" ATTACHED TO POPULAR ASSEMBLIES FOR RESOLUTION OF "NON-CRIMINAL" CASES.

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7. DOCUMENT CONCLUDED BY NOTING THAT PROVISIONS WERE NOT RIGID BUT THEY WOULD BE GEARED TO LOCAL CIRCUMSTANCES AND DEFINED BY DYNAMIC OF PROCESS.

8. COMMENT: AFM APPEARS TO HAVE OPTED FOR AN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH IT CAN CONTROL. LINKS WITH POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS AT EACH LEVEL INCLUDE AFM PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING FOR FIRST TIME FORMAL ROLE FOR LOCAL MILITARY UNIT COMMANDERS AND THREE REGIONAL MILITARY COMMANDERS.

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9. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE SET OUT IN DOCUMENT IS -- IF IMPLEMENTED -- BLUEPRINT FOR BYPASSING POLITICAL PARTIES. WHAT SEEMS TO BE CONTEMPLATED IS THAT PARTIES WILL SIMPLY FOLD THEMSELVES INTO REVOLUTIONARY STRUCTURE AND FADE AWAY. DOCUMENT DEFINES OUTLINES OF PARALLEL POLITICAL STRUCTURE WHICH EFFECTIVELY CUTS MUCH OF THE GROUND FROM UNDER WORK OF CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

10. MORE SIGNIFICANT PERHAPS, IS FACT THAT, FACED WITH CHOICE BETWEEN COMMUNIST-SUPPORTED CDR'S AND FAR-LEFT BACKED CRT'S, AFM CHOSE NEITHER. THIS STRUCTURE THEY HAVE SELECTED IS CDR MODEL WITHOUT CDR'S. BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL UNITS -- NEIGHBORHOOD OR TENANTS COMMITTEES AND WORKERS COMMISSIONS -- ARE IN PLACE IN MANY LOCALES WITH AFM SUPPORT (SEE REF C, PARA 5). KEY FROM AFM STANDPOINT, IS "UNITARY" CHARACTER OF ORGANIZATIONS.

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AFM HAS (FOR TIME BEING AT LEAST) SAID "NO" TO BOTH COMMUNISTS AND THE FAR LEFT IN OPTING FOR MODEL WHICH WILL ALLOW AFM BOTH TO SET PACE AND CONTROL FORM OF DIRECT LINKS BETWEEN IT AND PEOPLE.

11. IN A SENSE, DOCUMENT REFLECTS SCHIZOID APPROACH BY AFM. ON ONE HAND, DOCUMENT SUGGESTS GREATER CENTRALIZED CONTROL IN CALLING FOR CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF EXTENSIVE STATE SECTOR AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC POLICY TOGETHER WITH POLICIES FOR BASIC SECTORS. THIS IS JUXTAPOSED WITH ELABORATE ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE FOR DIRECT LINKS WITH PEOPLE BASED UPON DECENTRALIZED DECISION-MAKING. WHILE SUCH APPARENT CONTRADICTIONS MAY BE BRIDGED IN PRACTICE, THEY ARE INDICATION OF COMPROMISE NATURE OF DOCUMENT. (ANOTHER INDICATION IS ORGANIZATION OF DOCUMENT ITSELF, WHICH REFLECTS CUT-AND-PAST EFFORT. INITIAL DESCRIPTION OF STRUCTURE ADOPTED IS UNDER "INTERNATIONAL" HEADING.)

12. DOCUMENT DEFINES WITH GREATER PRECISION THAN HERETOFORE THE TERRAIN AS WELL AS THE GROUND RULES FOR FURTHER COMPETITION AMONG PRINCIPAL PROTAGONISTS FOR POWER AND INFLUENCE WITHIN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. COMMUNISTS HAVE ALREADY ANNOUNCED AN INTENSIFIED ORGANIZING EFFORT AT THE LOCAL LEVEL. SOCIALISTS AND POPULAR DEMOCRATS, WHO ARE NOT PLEASED WITH DOWNGRADING OF POLITICAL PARTIES WILL, IF THEY ARE WISE, DO THE SAME. THEY STILL REPRESENT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY SENTIMENT IN THE COUNTRY AND PROVIDED THEY HAVE THE WILL TO DO SO THEIR SUPPORTERS SHOULD BE ABLE TO DOMINATE WHATEVER ORGANIZATIONS ARE FORMED AT THE LOCAL LEVEL.

13. AN INTERESTING SIDELIGHT IS FACT THAT MELO ANTUNES WAS NOT PRESENT AT MEETING. OFFICIAL EXPLANATION IS THAT HE WAS PREPARING HIS PRESENTATION ON ANGOLA, AN AGENDA ITEM WHICH ASSEMBLY DID NOT REACH. THE MORE CONSPIRATORIALLY-INCLINED, HOWEVER, SPECULATE THAT HE WAS WAITING IN WINGS FOR CALL THAT NEVER CAME FOR HIM TO REPLACE VASCO GONCALVES AS PRIME MINISTER.

14. ANOTHER ASSEMBLY WILL BE HELD, DATE NOT YET FIXED, TO COMPLETE ORIGINAL AGENDA. REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IS MEETING TODAY, JULY 9.

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Message Attributes

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